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was proved only lately, when a controversy that had lasted for nearly half a century was settled in a friendly way; on that occasion it was also the American Government which invited the countries concerned, through its worthy Secretary of State, the eminent lawyer and statesman, Charles Evans Hughes.

Therefore the Government of Guatemala enters this conference with a keen desire to promote neighborly good feeling, pledging itself to co-operate to the utmost of its ability in pursuit of the results sought to be attained.

I feel that it is most appropriate, also, to add my government's high appreciation of the courtesy and disinterested thoughtfulness of the Government of the United States of America, due to whose courteous invitation we are assembled here today. I desire to avail myself of the opportunity to express to the very distinguished members of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union and its most capable Director General our most sincere gratitude for having placed at the disposal of the conference the palace of that important institution in which to hold our deliberations.

EL SALVADOR

Remarks of Senor Dr. Don Francisco Martinez Suarez, Chief of the Salvadoran Delegation

Your Excellency the Secretary of State, Your Excellencies the Delegates:

The Government of El Salvador, as also those of the other Central American States, has eagerly welcomed the cordial invitation issued by the Government of the United States to send delegates to participate at a conference, the object of which shall be to establish methods whereby stipulations contained in former Central American treaties and agreements may be rendered effective; other reforms deemed necessary may be added, binding the nations of Central America in the form which their actual necessity demands and developing every effort which would make closer such a bond in the future.

There has existed a General Treaty of Peace and Amity, signed December 20, 1907; furthermore, a Central American Court of Justice, created in accordance with Article 1 of said treaty, the object of which was to solve all problems which may come up for adjustment between the nations of Central America.

It is the practice of all civilized countries to submit many of their controversies to arbitration, but they usually exclude such questions which, in their opinion, affect the dignity or sovereignty of one or the other of the parties concerned. The Central American Court of Justice, believing itself an arbitral tribunal, and going perhaps beyond its fixed limits, was established with the object of solving all international questions affecting each and every one of the republics constituting Central America, without any exception.

The special convention which enumerated the bases of organization of the Central American Court of Justice was rejected as such, and differences of opinion naturally arose as to whether the General Treaty of Peace

and Amity was in force. This treaty in its first article practically established the court and constituted it an arbiter in all international questions, of whatever nature, affecting Central America.

Recently the governments of Central America, convinced of the necessity of preserving a judicious method for regulating their general relations, have been content to sink their differences of opinion, and in one form or another certain governments have made plain that their position was that the treaty of 1907 was in force and other governments indicated that it should be considered in force henceforth. Thus, the only remaining problem of importance was how to give it force in the most effective form, and furthermore to accede to the other measures which the necessities and aspirations of the Central American countries demand at this historic moment. Thus, the invitation of the Government of the United States was highly opportune, and I take great pleasure in stating that this friendly act has aroused sincere gratitude on the part of the Government of El Salvador. The appointment of His Excellency the Secretary of State and of the Honorable Mr. Welles, ex-Chief of the Latin American Division of the Department of State, as delegates of the United States demonstrates that the co-operation of this government will serve to assure the undoubted success of this conference and will thereby receive our most sincere gratitude.

In expressing my hearty thanks for the friendly welcome that has been extended to the delegation of El Salvador by the Government of the United States, I likewise desire to extend my gratitude to the Honorable Governing Board of the Pan American Union, as well as to the Director General of this Institution, for his courtesy in offering us the use of this building during the forthcoming sessions and also for his co-operation in the inauguration of the conference. In conclusion, I desire most cordially to welcome the delegates of the United States Government to our sessions and to extend the greetings of the delegation of El Salvador to the members of the other Central American delegations.

HONDURAS

Remarks of Senor Dr. Don Alberto Uoles, Chief of the Honduran Delegation

His Excellency the Secretary of State, Distinguished Delegates, Gentlemen:

The Delegation of Honduras to the Central American Conference, which assembly His Excellency the Secretary of State of the United States of America, with the unanimous approval of the governments of the five republics of Central America, has just inaugurated as Honorary President, desires to express the cordial thanks of its delegates as a whole for the courteous greeting of welcome which that distinguished gentleman has just addressed to the assembled delegates. The latter are today met in this city of Washington, in the palace of the Pan American Union, at the invitation of His Excellency the President of the United States, in order to assure for all the countries concerned, not alone the benefits of peace and progress, but also the blessings of right and liberty, which are their most vital concern.

They have, as it were, assembled under the inspiration of the illustrious founder of this great and exemplary nation, in the presence of the free nations of the New World, animated by the spirit of justice of its first magistrate.

The political questions which in this year of grace 1922 threatened with war the various Central American republics, in an ill-fated hour, disturbed the peace of their people, rather than national questions, and matters concerned with the disunion of States, which appeared in the light of personal quarrels of unfriendly heads of States, were adjusted on board the American man-of-war *Tacoma*. But the international relations of a legal or economic character maintained or abandoned by the five republics, by reason of the disagreement existing between the respective governments as to whether the failure of the treaties which were signed in Washington in 1907 are in force or not, are, properly speaking, not questions at all. However, in order to render these treaties efficacious and to assure greater friendliness and co-operation between the signatories, should they be re-established, it was considered necessary to revise them. In case the Central American Court of Justice (that institution of international arbitration) is not re-established, it may be necessary to create a tribunal of investigation. In accordance with the example set by the treaty concluded in Washington in 1921 between the great powers of Europe, America, and Asia, looking to the limitation of armaments, it was deemed advisable to conclude a similar treaty between the small nations of our Central America. These three important clauses in the program contained in the respective notes of the American legations inviting the five presidents or their representatives to this conference were extended to include a fourth clause, relating to any other matter upon which the countries represented at the conference should by unanimous consent wish to deliberate.

The delegation of Honduras, which possesses absolute confidence in the Government of the White House, by reason of its proved disinterestedness in world-wide politics, as well as for its exalted standards, can only express approval of this program. But it believes that, for Honduras and for all Central America, there exists another important matter (comprised under the fourth clause), which should receive first consideration, namely, the question of the re-establishment of the country of our fathers in the form of a political and federal unit. This is a matter upon which it is to be hoped that the delegations of Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica will agree. In the case of Honduras, according to the exact terms of her political constitution, which has held binding since 1880, her primary duty and most urgent necessity is to return to the union with the countries which formerly constituted the Federation of Central America, or at least with two or more of them; and her sister republics likewise have the same legal aspiration, as voiced in their respective constitutions, in their official documents, their press, and their public utterances; for, as in the case of the United States of America, in spite of the Civil War of Secession, which shook the Capitol to its foundations, we realize that only through federation can the separated States of the Isthmus find a solution of their problems; only in union

will they find the formula of their manifest destiny. In this generation of nationalities, in which Italy and Germany have attained unity or union; in the generation which saw Canada, South Africa, and Australia obtain a position in the international world—at this time the younger daughters of Spain in America also desire a place in the sun.

In the three centuries during which Spain ruled in Mexico and in the West Indies, as well as in Central and South America, the central provinces situated north of Panama, by virtue of their community of race and culture, laws and customs, which were known under the name of the Captaincy General or United Provinces of Guatemala, constituted one single nationality, whose boundaries had been established by history and geography. Central America was united at the time that it proclaimed its emancipation from the mother country and when it constituted itself a federal republic. An element of patrimonial and vicious separation dissolved the federation, and hard-hearted egoism on the part of the governments, rather than a spirit of provincialism in the people themselves, has served to maintain an absurd political and social condition. But during the period which preceded the break-up of the union, eight decades ago, the light of hope was never extinguished and the ideal of unity shone brightly in the attempts at confederation which followed. In the National Constitutional Assembly which was held in Tegucigalpa in 1853; in the national war which occurred in Nicaragua in 1854; in the unionist campaign of Guatemala in 1885; in the Nationalist Diet of San Salvador in 1889; in the National Constitutional Assembly of Managua in 1898; in the Peace Conference of Washington in 1907; in the Treaty of Union of San José de Costa Rica in 1921, held on the occasion of the first centenary of the national independence, and in the Federal Constitution of Tegucigalpa, held the same year—in all these events we see the pulsations of the heart of a single nation.

The American people must feel for us; for was not one of its sons, like the Pilgrims of the *Mayflower*, in truth a great man, the first in peace and the first in war, who will live forever in the hearts of his countrymen; and another snatched the fire from the gods and the scepter from the tyrants and was a man of fortune; another magistrate of the American Government proclaimed the Pan-American Doctrine, while still another died for the redemption of the slave. Thus America cannot but sympathize with the people of Central America in their desire to possess a true democracy, for they proclaimed their independence without spilling a drop of blood, and abolished slavery without shedding a single tear. Once united, enjoying the protection of a great nation and a great government, in peace, justice, and liberty, rejoicing in the good opinion of all her sister republics, Central America will be more worthy of the friendship of this country.

The union of the Central American republics by means of appropriate and responsible institutions, which would assure the necessary authority to the government, as well as adequate liberty to the people, would do everything in its power to promote agriculture, industry, and commerce, and would not merely add to, but would multiply its wealth and credit. Mere unification,

whether of tariff or finance, of weights or measures, despite the existence of an international bureau, would not bring about the union, the sole object of which is to make "right" prevail over "might," and it alone is salvation. At the Central American Conference which was held in Washington in 1907, and which led to the expectation that the treaties would result in a federal union, more than one delegation stated that it was not the peoples which opposed the re-establishment of the disunited republic, but the governments. And this could not be controverted. The truth of the matter is that only in union, and despite the created interests (not always legitimate ones), do the people see any possibility of an honorable administration and adequate form of government, free suffrage and rotation of power, the security of person and property, and the only means for assuring a stable place abroad and an acceptable régime at home; in other words, they realize that the only means under the existing conditions of civilization of putting an end to perpetual revolution is through federation.

The delegates of Honduras would be exceedingly gratified if their colleagues at this Central American Conference were to share their views. At all events, they, the delegates of Honduras, voice the desires of their government and share the sentiments of their fellow-countrymen. They believe this to be a unique, propitious, and final opportunity to work for the union of Central America, and feel that all must do their utmost to bring about the desired end. At this important conference it behooves us all to collaborate with patriotic zeal and hope for the cause of the great nation.

I have spoken.

NICARAGUA

Remarks of Senor Don Emiliano Chamorro, Minister of Nicaragua, Chief of the Nicaraguan Delegation

The willingness wherewith our five Central American republics have hastened to attend this conference is an additional testimony of the reality of our aspiration for unity, which desire, if fostered with intelligence and patriotism, will tend to overthrow all obstacles and some day, in the interest of all concerned, will hoist upon our mountains and wave over our lakes the sacred banner of one undivided nation.

The United States of America, by inviting us to hold this conference on its own soil, by sharing our labors and, becoming one of us, will demolish every argument that might exist on the part of those who, closing their eyes to the moral greatness of this nation, as demonstrated in history, would still disavow the noble interest which animates it to promote the well-being of the other nations of this hemisphere. We for our part feel that the friendship of this great republic is the best safeguard of our sovereignty.

These motives in themselves would suffice today to fill my country and its representatives with the profoundest satisfaction and to transform this satisfaction

into immense rejoicing; for, cognizant of the illustriousness, the patriotism, and the exalted aims of the delegates present, we feel assured that, animated as we all are by a sincere spirit of fraternity and justice, and convinced that the sacrifice which is being made to the common interest is a substantial guarantee of the interests of all concerned, in this conference we are establishing the foundations for an era of better understanding and increased co-operation between our several nations and, in consequence, for the more complete development and usefulness of the great and brilliant gifts which Providence has bestowed upon us.

I am convinced that all who are assembled here are animated by an ardent desire to eliminate any obstacles that might stand in the way of assuring the peace as well as the prosperity and rapid development of Central America. The circumstances under which we are placed are highly propitious for the realization of this work, and we possess the great advantage of being able to count in this our constructive work upon the co-operation of the two distinguished representatives of the United States Government. The problems that are to be discussed—regulations tending to establish more intimate and cordial relations between the individual nations; the form to be adopted in order to furnish an amicable solution of the international controversies; the limitation of war expenditure—all these are subjects of interest, not only to the countries of Central America, but to the entire continent. And we may consider ourselves happy if we are able to contribute to the extent of our power to promoting this broad spirit of Pan-American solidarity, which in its last analysis is the basis upon which depends the peace and happiness of all America, which we love, not alone because it is our continent, but rather because God has bestowed upon it the mission of being the standard-bearer of democracy and liberty. In my person the delegation of Nicaragua offers you everything in its power that may contribute toward the fulfillment of this noble mission.

Mr. Secretary, it is no mere coincidence that within the brief period of one year three international conferences of great significance have assembled in Washington; neither is it necessary to consider the importance of the matters discussed in the two preceding conferences and to be discussed in the present one. The mere fact that these conferences have assembled in Washington, under maximum conditions of place and circumstances, testifies to the confidence which the entire world feels in the impartiality, the concept of justice, and the rectitude of the actions of the United States Government, as well as of the people of this great country. We take pleasure in rendering them this homage.

The numerous attentions which the delegates have already received indicate in advance how great will be our debt of gratitude to your government, once this conference shall have terminated; but it will never exceed the gratitude which we owe you for having invited us to be the initiators of a new world-wide movement aiming at the solution of international controversies by means of conferences, equitable adjustments, and reciprocal concessions.

We tender you our most profound thanks.